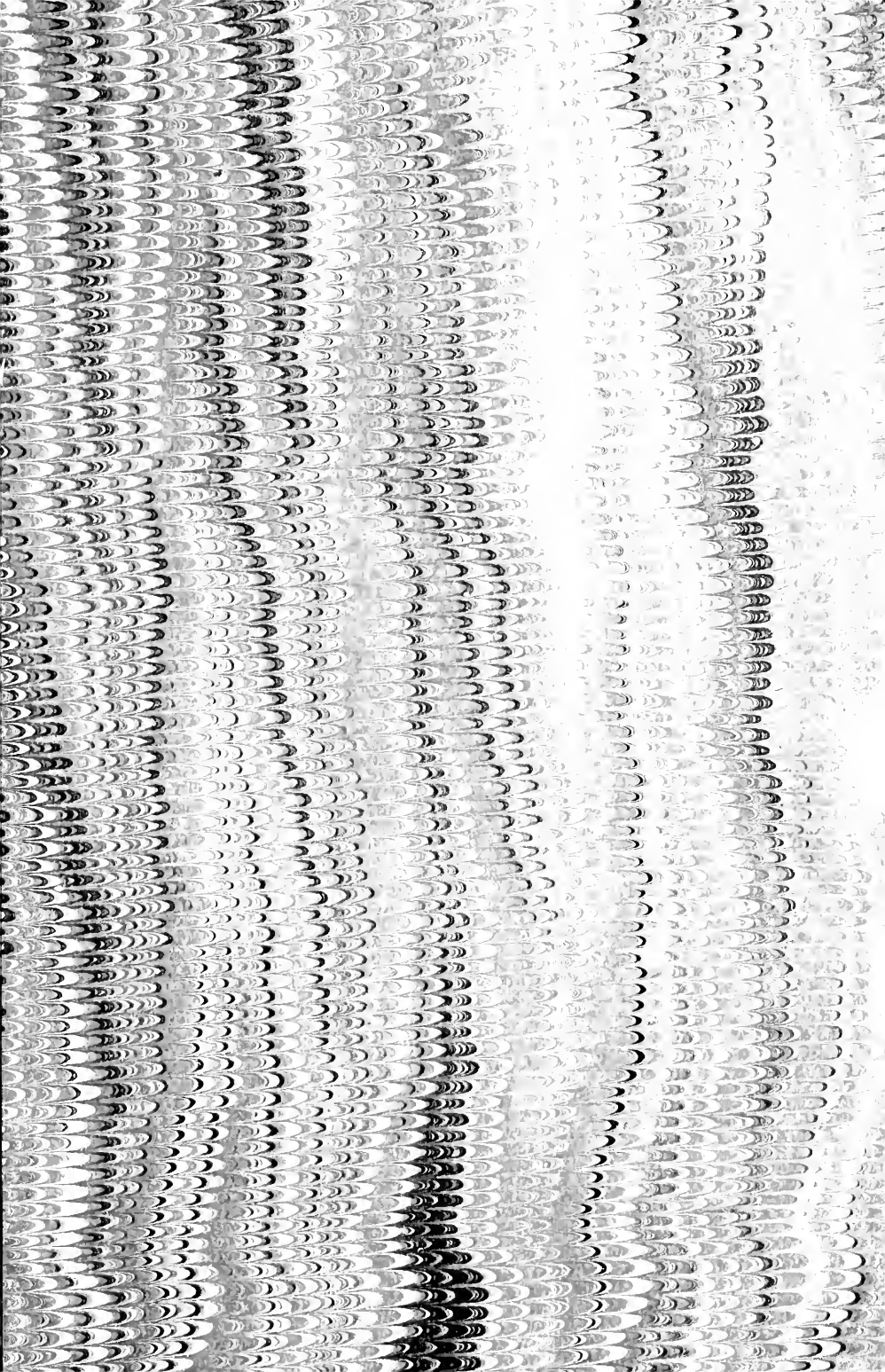


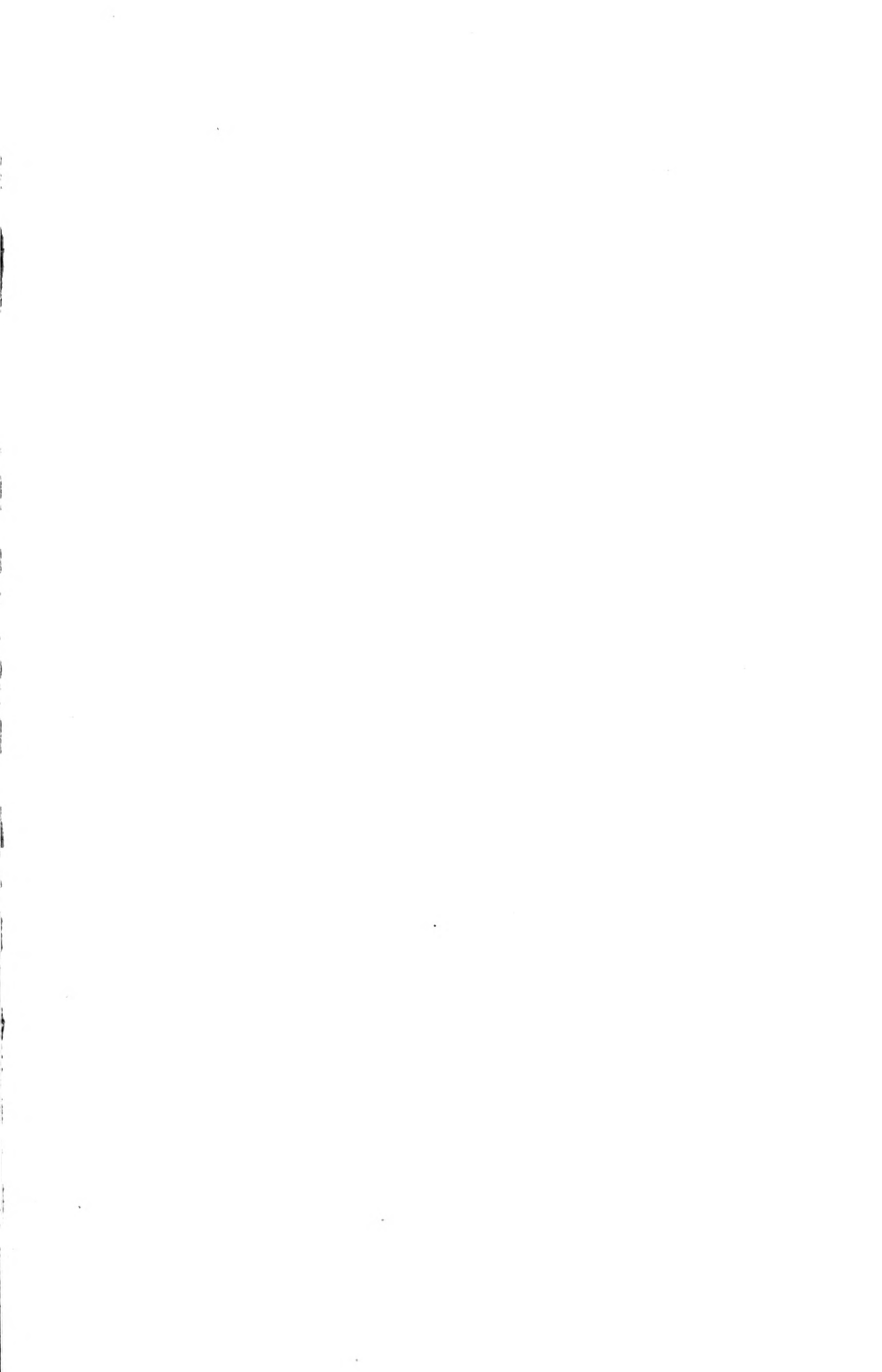


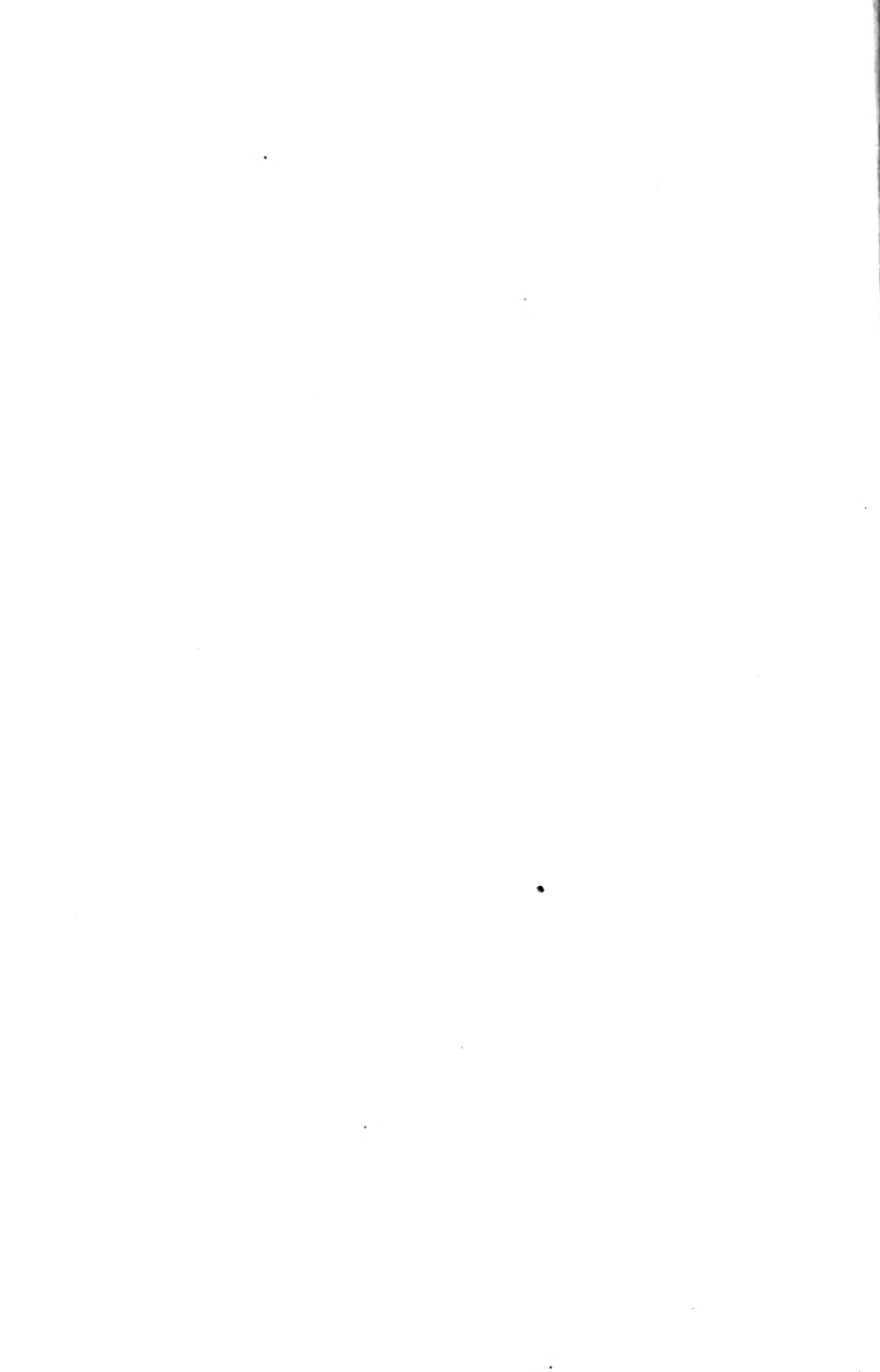
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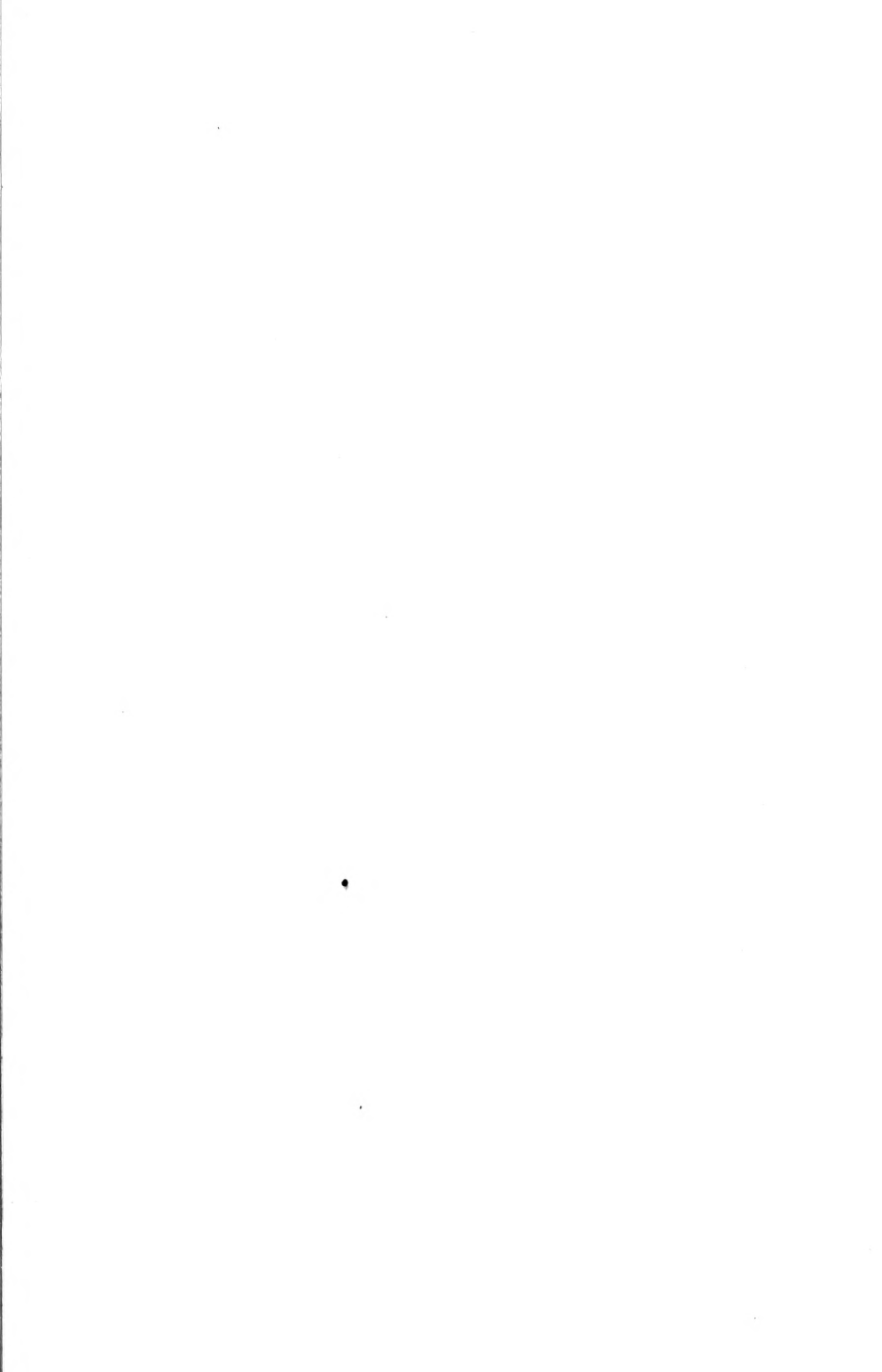
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

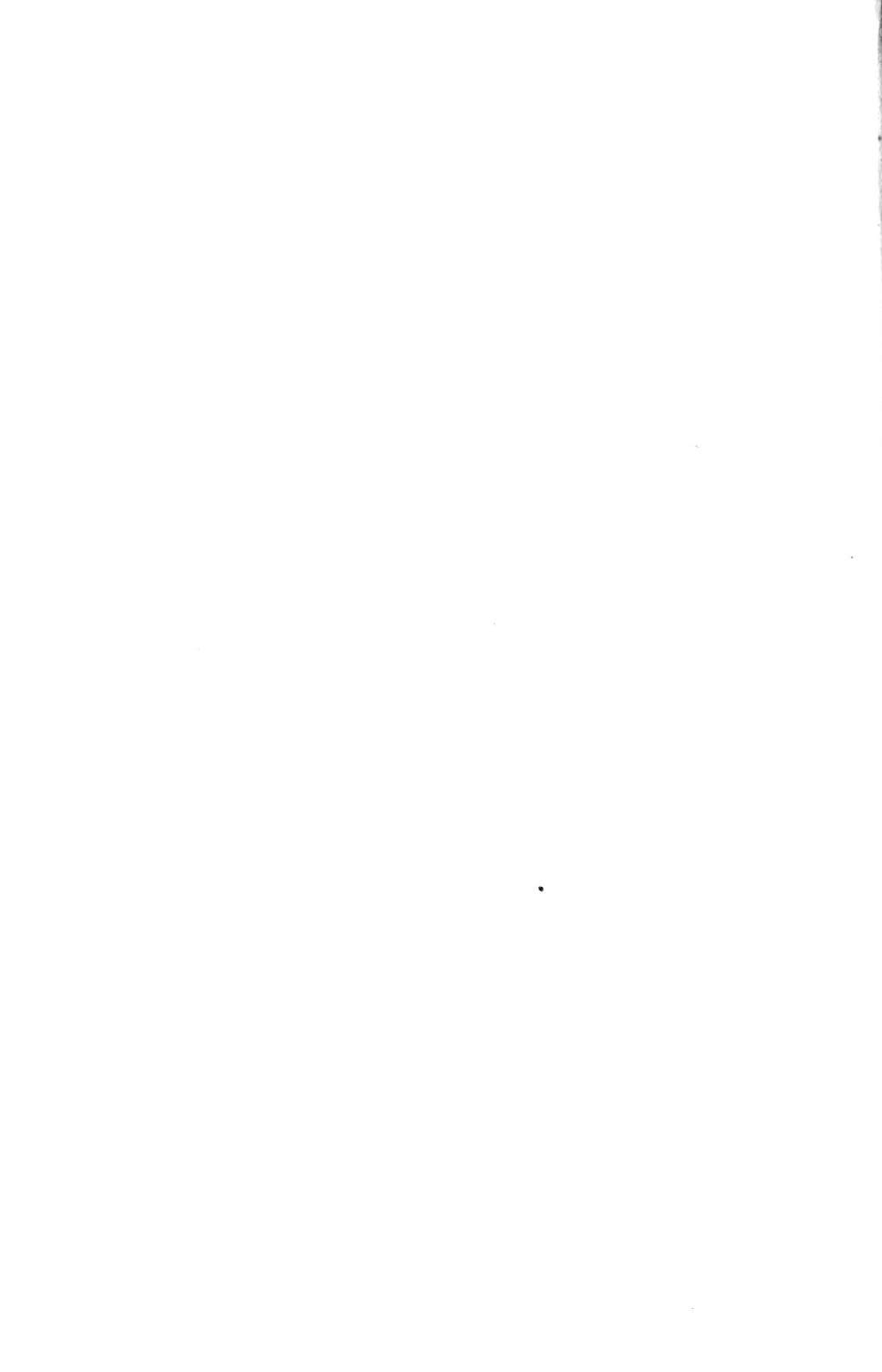












1776.

1876.

Programme

FOR CELEBRATING THE

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

ON THE

THIRD AND FOURTH OF JULY, 1876,

BY THE PEOPLE OF JERSEY CITY,

WITH THE ORATION BY THE

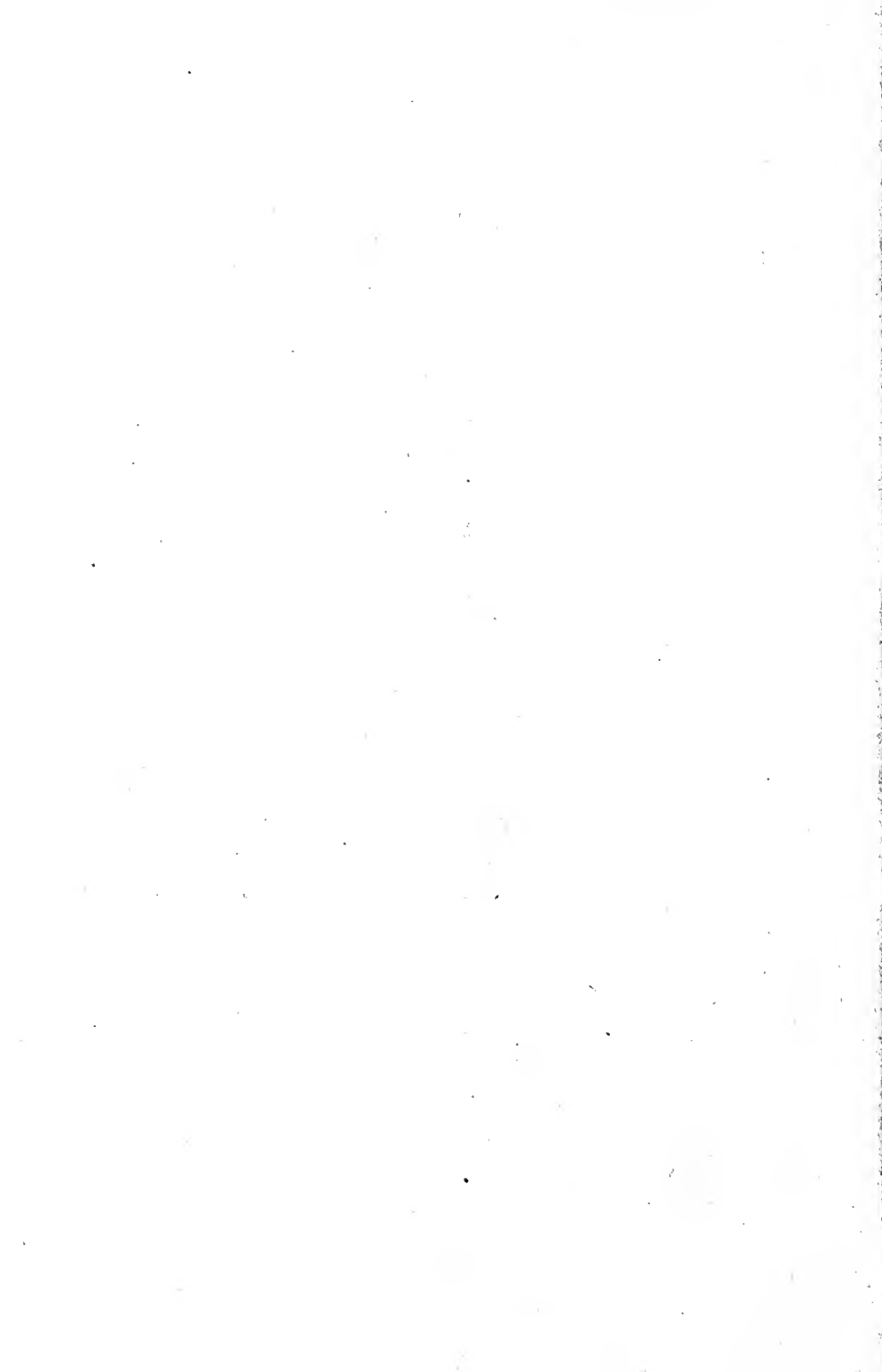
HON. CHARLES H. WINFIELD.

OF JERSEY CITY.

NEW YORK:

W. R. MASON & CO., Stationers and Printers,
15 New Church Street,

1876.



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for the night of the Third of July will take place, and where, around the Liberty Pole, will be welcomed the dawn of the Fourth—the Centennial Anniversary of American Independence.

Civic associations and citizens generally, who desire to take part in the parade, will please confer with the marshal at once, that he may assign them positions in line.

There will be in the line a Landau, drawn by four horses, conveying his honor Mayor Charles Scidler, Mr. H. J. Hopper, and the chairman of the committee of arrangements.

At 12 o'clock midnight the American flag will be raised on the liberty pole at the junction of Grand and Washington streets, by his honor Mayor Scidler; the flag to be saluted by the firing of thirty-eight (38) guns by Lieutenant Peter Ellers, of battery A, Hudson County artillery; the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner," by H. P. Danks, assisted by the entire audience, who are requested to join in the chorus, and an orchestra of sixty, the ringing of all the church bells in Jersey City, and the blowing of all the steam whistles in the city and harbor.

On the raising of the flag, there will also be a magnificent display of pyrotechny, furnished by Mr. J. G. Edge.

Citizens on the line of march are respectfully requested to illuminate their dwellings while the procession is passing, and to decorate their grounds and buildings.

PART SECOND.

CIVIC CEREMONIES,

TO BE HELD AT KEPLER HALL,

Commencing at 10 o'clock on the Morning of the

FOURTH OF JULY, 1876.

1. *Introduction of His Excellency, Joseph D. Bedle, Governor of the State of New Jersey, who will preside, assisted by one hundred Vice-Presidents and thirty-eight Secretaries.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Honor, Mayor Chas. Seidler,

Ex-Mayor Henry Traphagen,

“ Chas. H. O’Neil,

“ James Gopsill,

“ Orestes Cleveland,

“ Wm. Clarke,

“ C. Van Vorst,

“ Jno. B. Romar,

“ David S. Manners,

“ Wm. Collard,

“ Stephen D. Harrison,

“ B. F. Sawyer,

“ G. D. Van Reipen,

M. M. Drohan,

S. R. Halsey,

S. W. Stilsing,

L. A. Brigham,

Jno. W. Pangborn,

Hon. A. A. Hardenbergh,

“ Leon Abbott,

“ Jno. R. McPherson,

Doctor T. R. Varick,

“ Lutkins,

“ Morris,

“ Hunt,

“ Quimby,

“ Wm. A. Durrie,

D. C. McNaughton,

R. McCague, Jr.

H. A. Greene,

W. W. Shippen,

B. G. Clarke,

A. H. Wallis,

A. Barricklo,

H. R. Clarke,

Louis A. Leinau,

Wm. F. Taylor,

J. L. Ogden,

Henry J. Hopper,

David Taylor,

C. H. Murray,

David Gregory,

Hon. Robert Gilchrist,
 Sheriff P. H. Lavery,
 E. W. Kingsland,
 Thomas Earle,
 A. Q. Garretson,
 A. T. McGill,
 Jno. D. Carscallen,
 Wm. A. Lewis,
 Alderman John Case, Jr.

“ Jno. T. Van Cleef,
 “ Henry A. Thomas,
 “ M. D. Tilden,
 “ Lewis E. Wood,
 “ Ed. S. Smith,
 “ Dennis McLaughlin,
 “ M. Reardon,
 “ D. E. Soule,
 “ C. Helms,
 “ G. D. Mackey,

James R. Thompson,
 I. I. Vanderbeck,
 James B. Vredenbergh,
 David Smith,
 Henry Lembeck,
 D. S. Gregory, (3d.)
 William Muirheid,
 Jno. W. Harrison,
 C. C. Jewell,
 William McKean,

Edward P. Eastwick,
 I. W. Scudder,
 E. F. C. Young,
 G. W. Barker,
 Lyman Fisk,
 H. A. Coursen,
 T. C. Brown,
 Benjamin Edge,
 Jno. B. Coles,
 H. Wood,
 H. A. Booraem,
 G. W. Edge,
 William W. Lee,
 George Gifford,
 H. M. Traphagen,
 Asa W. Fry,
 Jeremiah Sweeney,
 Henry Pattberg,
 F. O. Matthiessen,
 Andrew Clerk,
 W. D. Hart,
 William Hughes,
 George Warren,
 I. S. Long,
 Bennington F. Randolph,
 Charles Sommers,
 William Keeney,
 Thomas Edmondson,
 Arend Steenken,

SECRETARIES.

Jno. E. Scott,
 E. W. Kingsland, Jr.
 Henry S. White,
 D. F. Smith,
 E. S. Norris,
 E. L. Nichols,
 C. Zabriskie,
 Z. K. Pangborn,
 Michael Mullone,
 Jno. P. Culver,
 G. S. Boice,
 A. M. Fuller,
 James S. Davenport,

Johannes Lienau,
 Geo. W. Conklin, Jr.
 Job Male,
 Robert C. Bacot,
 Peter Bentley,
 Titus B. Meigs,
 Richard C. Washburn,
 Lansing Zabriskie,
 W. Hogencamp,
 Joseph M. Brown,
 Daniel T. Hoag,
 H. N. Ege,
 Thomas E. Bray,

M. H. Gillett,
 David L. Holden,
 Hiram Sigler,
 Peter Henderson,
 William Frost,
 Alexander Bonnell,
 Amadee Spadone,
 Hugh W. McKay,
 Jno. W. Wilson,
 George Glaubrecht,
 A. J. Ditmar,
 J. R. Halladay,

2. *Invocation, by the Reverend Wm. P. Corbit.*
3. *Song, "Hail Columbia," by Madam Marie Salvotti and chorus.*
4. *Reading of the Declaration of Independence, by Mr. C. H. Benson.*
5. *Song, "The Star Spangled Banner," by Madam Salvotti and chorus.*
6. *Oration by the Honorable Charles H. Winfield.*
7. *Song, "Red, White and Blue," Madam Salvotti and chorus.*
8. *Benediction, by the Reverend Richard M. Abercrombie, D. D., Dean of Convocation of New Jersey.*
9. *Anthem, "My Country 'tis of Thee," by the entire chorus.*

THE AUDIENCE IS INVITED TO JOIN IN THE CHORUS OF EACH SONG.

Governor Bedle, the clergymen, orator, reader of the Declaration of Independence, chairman of the committee of arrangements, members of the Board of Aldermen of Jersey City and other officials, including Mayor Seidler, and the ex-mayors of Jersey City, with invited guests in open carriages, will be escorted to Kepler Hall, by the Fourth Regiment, National Guard, of the State of New Jersey. Colonel Dudley S. Steele, commanding, and the police force of Jersey City.

Governor Bedle has ordered the Hudson County artillery, under command of Lieutenant Peter Ellers, of Battery A, to fire a salute of 100 guns on the morning of the Fourth at sunrise; 100 at noon, and 100 at sunset.

The ladies of Jersey City are very respectfully invited to be present at the Kepler Hall ceremonies, and for their exclusive convenience and comfort the entire suite of galleries will be reserved.

Doors of Kepler Hall will be thrown open at 8.30 o'clock A. M.

Our citizens are respectfully requested to illuminate their dwellings from 8.30 to 9.30 on the evening of the Fourth, and to display all the bunting within their means.

Conductor.

MR. S. J. ANDERSON.

Accompanist,

MR. C. H. DIBBLE.

Solo Soprano,

MME. MARIE SALVOTTI.

CHORUS.

SOPRANO.

Arnold, Miss Nettie,	Kissam, Miss Mary,	Sprague, Mrs. C. G.
Abrahams, Mrs. E. S.	Insley, Mrs. H. A.	Thatcher, Miss Carrie,
Brown, Miss Anna,	Leake, Mrs. Thos.	Tragear, Miss Jennie,
Barker, Mrs. I. B. T.	Meade, Miss Emily,	Tichenor, Miss Lizzie,
Bassett, Miss J. F.	McGown, Miss H. H.	Ward, Mrs. John H.
Freebern, Miss Charlotte.	McGown, Miss M. A.	Ward, Miss Carrie,
Gaddis, Miss Lillie,	McGown, Mrs. S. B.	Woodcock, Miss Estelle.
	Rockwell, Miss Ray.	

CONTRALTO.

Barker, Miss Marie.	Harrison, Mrs. S. E.	Taylor, Mrs. J. D.
Howe, Mrs. Millie E.	Jaquins, Mrs. W. L.	Van Voorhis, Miss A.
Finlay, Miss M. R.	Love, Miss Maggie,	Veyrasset, Miss E.
Gould, Mrs. C. W.	Mabie, Miss E.	Whitehead, Miss Ida.
	Morton, Miss Marian W.	

TENORE.

Bennell, H.	Hardcastle, Mr.	Knowles, Samuel.	Raireck, E. W.
Brown, Wm.	Insley, H. A.	Kerr, Wm. Jr.	Tauzley, Wm.
Hough, W. I.	Ireland, John,	McGown, S. B.	Williams, M.
Howe, Reuben.	Jones, E. R.	Rouse, Richard,	

BASSO.

Danks, H. P.	Hough, W. I.	McGown, J. H.	Sealey, J. K.
Dey, W. T.	Kidd, Jos.	Mabie, C. W.	Sprague, C. G.
Evans, John.	Kidd, Ben.	Noonan, R.	Ward, Jno. H.
Gregory, D. S.	Keenan, W. W.	Quaife, Stephen.	Westervelt, E.
Hood, Robert,	Magee, S. D.	Reiffenstein, John.	

The Grand Piano used on this occasion, has been kindly furnished by the makers,
Messrs. CHICKERING & SONS.

Orchestral Accompaniment — KAUFER'S BAND, New York.

F. G. WOLBERT,

Chairman Committee of Arrangements.

JERSEY CITY, June 30th, 1876

Oration

OF

HON. C. H. WINFIELD

DELIVERED AT JERSEY CITY,

JULY FOURTH 1876.

— ♦ —
" My very noble and approv'd good masters,
Now attest,
That those, whom you call'd fathers, did beget you !
Let us swear
That you are worth your breeding." — *Shakespeare*.

— ♦ —
"All that augments liberty augments responsibility. Nothing is more grave than to be free: liberty weighs heavily, and all the chains that she takes from the body she binds upon the conscience; in the conscience law is turned inside out and becomes duty." — *Hugo*.

On motion of Flavel McGee, Esq., it was unanimously

Resolved, *That the orator be requested to furnish the manuscript of his oration for publication, and that the same be printed in pamphlet form with the programme of this Centennial Celebration.*

ORATION.

One Century gone ! In the diary of national life, how like yesterday when it is past—so brief, indeed, that across the hundred years now closing, we can almost clasp hands with the fathers of the Republic. We see the knit brow, the fire-flashing eye, the firm step, as they move on to the great, solemn struggle.

One Century gone ! When measured by events, how dim grows the distance; how far away in the past begins our history. The third of the Georges then sat upon England's throne, and his government had scarcely recovered from its fright caused by Wolfe Tone and his Irish rebellion. Catherine ruled the wild hordes of Russia, and dismembered Poland yet quivered in the paws of the imperial tigers who tore her asunder. Frederick the Great sat upon the throne of Prussia and led her victorious armies. Not yet seven years of age was the boy who was to make playthings of crowns and write upon the page of history the names of Austerlitz, Jena, Eckmühl and Wagram. Over the continent of Europe the "rights" of kings were firmly established, and if there were doubts as to the "divine" origin of those rights, the power to make good those doubts and shake those rights was wanting. Nowhere were the *people* in the dignity of manhood. Nowhere had they broken the bonds of feudalism. Their whole duty was to do and die for the King, their lord. Night, deep, dull and starless rested upon the masses. Only in France the people began to show signs of impatience. But, alas, untaught to distinguish liberty from licentiousness, when the day of their freedom dawned, it was only to behold the same despotism transferred from the King to the mob, and as much worse, as a herd of infuriated beasts is more dangerous than one. Here only, on this new continent, uncursed by the despotism of feudal law, far removed from the tendencies of monarchical theories, were destined to be established a government and a nation unique in history.

Properly to understand this government, let us enquire what manner of people settled these colonies, and what were the forces moving towards a government based on the fundamental principles of liberty.

It may be thought a solecism to observe that the same cause which built up the British power in America, overthrew it. In both instances it was persecution. The Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Catholics of Maryland, the Churchmen of Virginia, and the Non-conformists of the Carolinas, cheerfully turned from home and kindred for the untrammelled exercise of their devotions, and the predominance of their religion. Some of these having encountered in its fiercest violence the fury of theological animosity, being alternately the instruments and the victims, abandoned the unavailing, unending struggle by voluntary migration. Some were banished by the interdictions of an illiberal government; others were proscribed by the conscientious bigotry of a tyrant, and sought a refuge from the rage of their persecutors, among the barbarians of this western world. It matters not for the purposes of our argument that these people were not in all cases educated up to the divine standard of religious toleration, that they could not in all cases endure opposition to their notions of the divine government, and the manner in which men may worship God. The practical lesson which, through centuries of religious oppression, the majority had taught, was, that the minority had no rights of conscience or independent thought, that they must worship in the manner and with the shibboleth prescribed by the majority, whether represented by caliph, king or priest. The principle of toleration—the denial of man's right, a right which the divine author of our religion never claimed for himself, to deprive one of his personal and political rights for the good of his soul—was to be learned and understood as the years went by. It appeared a self-evident proposition, as soon as the swaddling clothes in which their faith had been nurtured, became too small or too contemptible for further use. That time always comes to noble souls.

Besides the religious, there were political causes which contributed to the settlement of these colonies. From the animosities, factions and civil wars which distracted Great Britain, was produced a resolute and enterprising race. Of these some were unsuccessful in rebellion, and fled from the vengeance of the laws; others voluntary migrated because of their devotion to liberty.

Then came those who pined in homeless poverty, caused by the laws of primogeniture, adverse fortune, or the exactions of rapacious governments. Not a few of the immigrants were filled with an honorable ambition and a restless spirit. They were conscious of merit,

which entitled them to something else than the inferiority to which they were doomed at home. They wearied of the obscurity to which they were oppressed by wealth, by birth, by the influence of privileged orders, and by the stratagems of dishonorable competition. Impelled by these several causes, they came to America with all the attributes of freemen, and under the sanction of that eternal privilege which nature has conferred on the human race. They departed, because their happiness required it, from the land in which accident and not choice had determined their birth. They brought with them the tree of liberty which they planted in this virginal soil. Many times since have its roots been watered with the blood of the brave, and the good and the true. May it be many Centennials hence before one leaf of that goodly tree shall wither.

Such was the general character of the primal immigration to these shores. The colonies were the common asylum, into which was thrown by the alternate waves of persecution, revolution and faction, the best and the bravest. The bigoted republican and the adherent of the murdered king met on an equal footing. The persecutor found a refuge among the victims of his persecution. The Catholic was associated with the Huguenot, the Puritan with the Quaker, the pious divine with the inexorable fanatic.

By people of such character, filled with such spirit, animated by such motives, possessing the integrity of such an origin and impelled to emigration from such principles, the foundations of the edifice were laid deep and solid, its superstructure substantially built. Led to expatriation from the affections and endearments of their native land for the love of liberty and piety to heaven, they came to these wilds to rear a home for themselves and their posterity. In this their success was wonderful. In the short period of a century and a half, the thirteen colonies together reached the rank of an empire. Wealth accumulated and population increased, so that they became no insignificant portion of the British realm. Uncorrupted by the delicacies of older societies, remote from the festering influence of cities, compelled to face the dangers and toils of a new country, felling forests where civilized man had not yet mingled his discordant voice with the harmonies in which virginal nature was adoring the Lord, subjecting the untamed soil to agriculture, they acquired a sense of personal dignity and an impatience of other than domestic control. Thus nurtured they offered at the altar of liberty their richest oblations. Luxury,

wealth, and the refinements of older civilizations enervate : poverty and the struggles for livelihood in a new country ennoble. In the goblet of gold Thyestes drinks the blood of his son: from the cup of earth Fabricius pours his libations to the gods.

Not only the causes of their migration hither and the early struggles for existence after their settlement, but there were other influences which were directly instrumental in building up the colonists to the stature of perfect men. Their long struggles with the crown for the rights and liberties of Englishmen had made them jealous of even apparent encroachments. Their frequent and successful wars with the Indians and French, the burden of which in toil and sacrifice they and not England had borne, led them more highly to estimate their strength and appreciate their resources. Notwithstanding the loss of many thousands of their best citizens and a debt of many millions in these wars, wealth and population rapidly increased. Sturdy emigrants poured in from the Old World, penetrated the forests even beyond the Alleghanies and into the valley of the Ohio, settlements sprung up everywhere, trade revived, cities grew into importance, everything betokened and the colonists hoped for a prosperous future. They now saw the day near at hand when they were to enjoy the fruits of their toil, struggle and sufferings. The French had been driven beyond the Mississippi, the savages had been subdued, the wounds of many conflicts were healing, prosperity and happiness were everywhere apparent, and lo ! England, true to her ancient role, entered the lists as the oppressor; the mother became the persecutress of the daughters. As oppression had been the initial cause of building up this portion of the British Empire, so now oppression was to be the cause of its severance from that Empire. The children were not less opposed to tyranny than the fathers had been. They fled from it to rear their homes in the wilderness; these would not fly but defend. In the days of the exiled fathers

“ The sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free.”

The children had not forgotten the music, nor had they degenerated either in the power of the arm or valor of the soul.

True, the colonists were bound to Great Britain by the executive sovereign being the same over both. They and the mother country were members of the same empire united together in the same head; but they were not and never had been represented in Parliament.

Each colony had its own legislature, equal in sovereignty and power to the parliament of Great Britain—neither body had the right to legislate for, nor assume domination over the other. Hence, when in March, 1764, the House of Commons resolved that "Parliament had a right to tax America," the reply was, taxation without representation is tyranny. If in England the King cannot raise money by taxation without the consent of Parliament, neither can he here without the consent of our legislatures. It is illegal to subject us to taxation without the consent of our legislatures, in which only we are represented. If we are taxed by a body in which we are not represented, we are slaves.

This style of argument was not to the liking of the majority of British statesmen, though Lord Chatham had given it this endorsement: "The people of America represented in their assemblies, have inviolably exercised this constitutional privilege of granting their own money; they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it." Their answer was the *Stamp Act*, the *Quartering Act*, the imposition of duty on tea, and other articles, the establishment of custom houses to collect these duties, regiments of soldiers to enforce the law, and the proposition to send all offenders to England for trial. These and other acts, and the resistance which they aroused, caused great excitement and intense bitterness. As to the popular feeling on the other side, Dr. Franklin observed: "Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the colonies*." To this spirit the colonists offered a manly and dignified opposition and warning. They substantially adopted the address of Massachusetts: "Let our governments live, let our patents live, let our magistrates live, so shall we have further cause to say from our hearts, let the king live forever." They loved the old land of their fathers, but they loved their own land more, and since in that land they had tasted the sweets of liberty, they were ready to defend it. They were the champions of liberty, not fomentors of revolution—those ominous birds which with their cries and screams herald in the tempest that soon sweeps them out of sight forever. They had no desire to dissolve their allegiance to the crown. They shrank from taking the final step, which they characterized as the last blow of agonizing affection. In the language of the New Jersey Provincial Congress, they humbly implored the "divine favor in presiding over

and directing their councils towards the re-establishment of order and harmony between Great Britain and her distressed colonies."

As Englishmen they felt a just pride in the glory of the old England of their fathers. By preserving the rights of freemen, and with unshackled industry developing the resources of the continent, they hoped to advance the power and glory of the fatherland. They desired to be a free and great people together. But all their patience and efforts to this end were in vain. The king and his counsellors were blind. The decrees of Omniscience must be accomplished. The hour had come when the blow must be struck, or they become victims through their own inaction. We have already seen that they were not unprepared. The soul that loves liberty is ever ready. Like Minerva they stepped forth in full panoply. They shook off their allegiance and formed governments for themselves. As an example to show how fitly these governments were framed, and how well adapted to the wants of the people, the Constitution of New Jersey, adopted before the Declaration of Independence, remained the fundamental law of the State until 1844. And I am free to confess that the present constitution, with its recent tinkering, is not an improvement that justifies much boasting.

The struggle which ensued, the seven long years of conflict between the veteran legions of England and the mercenaries of the Continent on the one side, and the hasty recruits from the farm, the workshop and the various paths of peaceful life on the other, was bloody and burdensome. Judged by Napoleonic rule the conflict was unequal, for the heavy battalions were with the enemy. "The strength of Great Britain, can in a good cause," said Lord Chatham, "crush America to atoms." But they fought to establish a wrong, the Colonies fought to uphold a right; they fought to enslave their brethren, these fought to maintain their birth-right, and justice in a quarrel provides an armor more complete than steel.

At this point we open a new chapter in our history. The war was over, peace had come, and then—what? Mutual danger was no longer the bond of union. The articles of confederation were as inefficient in peace as they had been inadequate in war. The crown was trampled in the dust, and the people wanted no other. A republic was what they required. But thirteen republics then in existence, and visions of others stretching far away over the Continent, jostling each other in their conflicting interests, were

incapable of endurance. At the best could one be formed having the prospect of stability? The union of the revolution had passed away with the danger that created it. The union of the confederation was daily growing weaker, weaker. As the weakness increased discord from indifference or conflicting interests crept in. The fabric raised in the hour of mutual danger, for mutual protection, was crumbling. The common fate of popular governments seemed to be rapidly approaching. Already the union was entering the valley of the shadow. Anxiously our fathers asked of the past, where are the many republics which have heretofore existed? The reply came out of the gloom, fallen, fallen! and their wrecks lie bleaching upon the shores of time. A priest sits upon the ruins of the Roman Senate, and the crescent waves over Sparta and the other Grecian states.

But the men who had been brave in battle, were wise in peace. They were competent to save what they had been able to win. Hence, from their deliberations came forth the Constitution of the United States, the fundamental law of a federative republic—an instrument so perfect that the piety of the ancients would have ascribed it to the gods. Adapted alike to the smallest state and the largest continent, the wisdom of the fathers therein shines with wonderful lustre. I have sometimes doubted if they did not build better than they knew. But the past was before them, and the experience of previous republics—how sad had they been—provided conclusive and sacred lessons. From these experiences cropped out boldly the important truth that, “a sovereignty over sovereigns, a government over governments, a legislation for communities as contra-distinguished from individuals, as it is a solecism in theory, so in practice, it is subversive of the order and ends of civil prolixity, by substituting *violence* in place of *law*, or the destructive *coercion* of the *sword* in place of the mild and salutary *coercion* of the magistracy.”

By the middle and safer course they avoided the weakness and consequent early decay of a confederation and the despotic tendencies of national unity. The weakness of all confederations lies in the want of coercive power, either to command respect abroad or insure tranquility at home. The danger of national unity lies in the centralizing tendencies of power, and the corresponding oppression of the people. A confederation operates upon communities, not upon individuals. Consequently there is no punishment for infractions of the fundamen-

tal law, except the punishment of the sword. This, of course, means war, the suspension of all law, and the establishment of right as understood by the strongest. National unity gives greater means of encroachment upon personal liberty. Both systems have their dangers, and our early statesmen, like skilful pilots did not fall into Charybdis while they shunned Scylla.

What was this middle course which avoided the vices and embodied the virtues of both systems. It was to make a national unity as to the exterior or foreign affairs of the country, and to restrain the States within their proper spheres, and retain the State governments as to interior or domestic affairs. Within the Union the powers of the general government are free and simple, the powers of the State government are many and varied. One flag waves over, and one power shields the citizen in whatever part of the world he may be. The national part of our existence is pledged to that. In our homes, in our business we are protected by the State in which we or our business may be. The State is our family, our home government, the protector of our household gods. The power of the general government goes with us upon the ocean, through all lands, the flag is its symbol. It slumbers not, neither does it sleep. As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the power of the United States—one, from many—round about every one of its citizens. Let a foreign power illegally lay its finger upon him, the pain is felt throughout the whole country. Let a State illegally lay its hand upon him, from the State alone, ordinarily must come his redress.

From Washington's standpoint, the attempt at such a government was an experiment. Yet listen to his hopeful words: "Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is worth a fair and full experiment."

Then the settled portion of our country was upon the Atlantic slope from Maine to Georgia. (1.) The Mississippi was the western bound-

(1) The main line of settlements ran 1000 miles along the coast, from the mouth of the Penobscot to the Altamaha, with an average extent inland of from 100 to 250 miles. A few pioneers had made their homes in the Ohio valley; there were two or three patches of settlement in Kentucky; there was a village in Indiana, and

dary. (2) The population numbered less than 3,000,000, (3) and there were thirteen States. For this population, and to that territory the government was adapted. Now, from the lakes to the gulf, from the arctic to the tropics, our domain has widened. (4) The States have increased to thirty-eight, and there are more to come. Our population numbers more than 40,000,000. (5) Yet the same government, under the same constitution is over all, with as little strain as over the small beginning. And if in the future the flag should wave over additional possessions, taken from Canada or Mexico, our system will send to those extremities the same warmth and vitality. Why? Because each State attends to its own affairs, develops its own resour-

another in Michigan, and there were bands of adventurous spirits as far West as Illinois. The area covered by population in 1790 was 239,935 square miles.

(2) This gives a little in excess of 800,000 square miles.

(3) The first census in 1790 showed a population of 3,929,214, including 757,208 slaves. At the breaking out of the Revolution, the estimated population was 2,250,000, besides 500,000 slaves.

(4) The Louisiana purchase in 1803, supplemented by the Oregon treaty of 1846, added 1,171,931 square miles to the national domain; the Spanish cession in 1819, embraced 59,268 square miles; the annexation of Texas in 1845, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, and the Gadsden purchase in 1853, brought in 967,451 square miles, and finally, Mr. Seward's Alaska investment, involved the acquisition of 500,000 square miles. The total area is now 3,603,844 square miles, or 1,942,000,000 acres, one half of which are public lands. In surface extent three nations surpass the United States—the British, Chinese and Russian empires.

(5) The Chinese empire in 1870, had 477,500,000, the British empire 174,200,000, the Russian empire 76,500,000, the German empire 40,200,000, the United States 38,558,371. The average increase in the aggregate population since 1870, in the fifteen States in which a census has been taken, is sixteen per cent., and at the same rate of increase, the total population in 1875, would be 44,675,000, while that of the German empire, according to the recent census, is 42,757,812. During sixty years, (1800-60) the population of the United States increased 593 per cent., that of England and Wales 121 per cent., and that of France 37 per cent. The great factor of the marvelous growth of our population has been immigration. Annexation has contributed but very little. The purchase of Louisiana, Florida, California and New Mexico, brought in less than 150,000 inhabitants, and the acquisition of Texas and Oregon, merely restored to citizenship those who had emigrated to the United States. The total number of immigrants from 1820 to 1873, was 8,808,141, of whom 2,907,565 were from Ireland, and 2,663,437 from Germany. About 60 per cent., after deducting women and children, were in the prime of life, 46 per cent. were trained to various pursuits, and 10 per cent. were traders.

It has been estimated that if the fusion of elements were complete, of 100 drops of American blood, 25 would be Anglo-Saxon, 27 German, 2 Dutch or Scandinavian, 30½ Celtic, 3 Romanic, and 12½ uncertain.

ces, makes and executes its own laws, which it adapts to the peculiar character of its own people, their industries and occupations, (6) protects its own citizens, and educates its own children. (7)

It is a fact worthy of heed in the science of legislation, that the same laws cannot be successfully adapted to a great extent of territory, embracing within its bounds different zones. Different climates require different laws. It would be a difficult task, and useless if practicable, to bring the quick, impulsive inhabitants of a southern clime and the cold, calculating inhabitant of the north, under the same domestic laws. Under our system such an attempt is unnecessary. There is one code for Maine, another for Louisiana, another for California, all as diverse as are the temperaments and pursuits of the people, yet all acting in harmony with the greater central law—the Constitution of our common country—as the planets revolve in their own spheres, obedient to their several laws, yet all in harmony with and obedient to the superior laws of the central power. When before in the history of human institutions for the government of man has such a scheme been devised? When before has a government been able, with such ease and naturalness, and adaptability to extend itself over such vast domains and diverse interests, and yet remain a government of the people? It is a duty we owe to the past and to the future, to ourselves and to posterity to stand by the principles of our government and constitution with firm fidelity. “Bind them for signs upon your hands that they may be as frontlets between your eyes :

(6) During the colonial period the principal occupations were husbandry, lumbering, trading, hunting and fishing. One third of the labor of the country was employed in timber cutting. According to the last census nearly 6,000,000 are engaged in agricultural pursuits, 1,200,000 in trade and transportation, 2,700,000 in manufacturing and mining, and 2,6000,000 in professional life, and there are 43,000 clergymen, 40,000 lawyers, 62,000 physicians, 126,822 teachers, 2,000 actors, 5,200 journalists, 1,000,000 laborers, and 975,000 domestic servants. Alexander Hamilton's dream of the diversity of human industry in the New World, has come to pass.

(7) In 1776 there were nine colleges in the colonies, six of which had been open only 30 years. In 1875 degrees were conferred by 374 colleges, and there were in addition 106 schools of law, medicine and theology and five colleges for women. There has been a strong reaction against sectarian colleges; Harvard and Cornell are now classed among the opponents of the system, and State Universities have been established in Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, California and elsewhere. The American people to-day are more generally educated than the French, the English or the Italian nations, but in higher education they are behind Europe.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

teach them to your children, speaking of them in your homes, when walking by the way, when lying down and when rising up; write them upon the door-posts of your houses, and upon your gates; cling to them as to the issues of life; adhere to them as to the cords of your eternal salvation."

Within the walls of ancient Troy was preserved the palladium which had descended from heaven. It was the popular faith, that as long as that sacred image remained in the city the Trojans would triumph over all enemies who might sit down before their gates. In vain for ten long years did the Greeks besiege that city. The image remained within and its guardians could not be conquered. But owing to the long watches of the siege, those guardians became negligent, and in the night while they slept upon their posts, two adventurous enemies scaled the walls, seized the palladium and carried it to the Grecian camp. The city was then doomed. It soon fell before its victorious foes.

The Constitution is our palladium. It need not be ascribed to a miraculous origin in order to command our reverence. There is no occasion for us to look upon it with superstitious awe. Its simplicity and effectiveness are sufficient to ensure our respect. While its principles abide in our hearts, in our patriotic affections, be assured the country is safe. If the Constitution is our palladium, and if the citadel where it abides is safe only so long as it remains, then in the name of centennial memories, by the hopes that gild the clouds of the future, by our duty to those who from the dark places of despotism are holding up their manacled hands and asking us, "Watchmen what of the night, when cometh the morning?" guard it with a watchful eye. Sleep not upon your posts. The enemy is before your gates. Watch for the coming of the foe. He will come in the shape of amendments in times of great political excitement. He will come in the shape of false construction. He will come in the shape of slight infractions from necessity. He will come in the shape of silent encroachments. He will come in the shape of indifference to some and of corruption to others. Smite them all, for they come from the camp of the Greeks to steal away the protector of our liberties.

It is proper, however, while celebrating the historic deeds which formed the great Republic, to indulge in a little sober self-criticism. It is sometimes quite as beneficial to dwell upon our faults as upon our virtues. He is a safer guide who points out the pitfalls in our

path, than him who neglecting these dangers descants about the glories of the heavens. Especially may we all be candid in our reflections when we consider that this is the last centennial at which I shall speak, or you honor me by listening. Permit me then, in a plain way to speak of a few faults, which like filthy weeds, have sprung out of this rich soil. These few, and considering the many that exist, are they not a few? are such as in my humble judgment, are destructive of all good government.

I.—NEWSPAPERS.

One just cause of alarm to every reflecting man is the fact, that the public press of the country has, in part, forgotten its principles, its duty, its high destiny. During the revolutionary period it was a powerful aid in throwing off the yoke of the mother country. It is now, if properly conducted, better calculated to perpetuate what it was so largely instrumental in establishing. More powerful than the pulpit or the rostrum in that its audience is larger, and its addresses are more frequent and lasting, its obligations to the country are correspondingly great. Yet how are these obligations discharged? Does it elevate the taste, develop the intellect, strengthen the morals, build up the public virtue, deepen the patriotism or better the condition of the masses? To say nothing of more substantial publications, many newspapers, which some would blush to admit into their households, are scattered like mildew over the land. They enervate the mind by the miserable pabulum doled out daily to their readers. They fall upon virtue and vice grows in its place. They flutter before the young man as he steps from the home of his childhood, for life's rugged battle, "rejoicing as a strong man to run a race," and he becomes a nerveless debauchee or hardened criminal. With indecent pictures and more indecent text, they have become the enemies of mankind, more pestilential than the fever breeding purlieus of our cities, more to be dreaded than the robber, more inimical to liberty, social order and good government, than the plotter of treason. This is our legislative estimate of them, for, passing by other crimes either at common law or by statute, it is made the duty of the judge, at each term of our courts, to call the attention of the grand jury to them.

The inferior order of our political papers, cater to the most debased passions of human nature. They deal without stint in scandal, personal abuse and vituperation. Fattening upon monies drawn from municipal and State treasuries, for useless advertisements; they are always ready to make a saint or a hero of any one who contributes to their sustenance. Seizing upon the most airy rumor set afloat by gossiping men—"Ay, in the catalogue they go for men,"—they metamorphose it into a monster, to terrify the world. No man is too high, none too low, to escape the attacks of these Ishmaelites. The most innocent actions and the purest intentions of our best men, are called in question. The faith of the people in those occupying official positions, is undermined, until, as the result of their teaching, we have become a nation infidel to ourselves, infidel to the cause of good government, infidel to the safeguards of liberty. When owls fly abroad and frighten people with their hootings, birds of finer mould, children of the sunlight, wait for the coming of the dawn. So the direct tendency of such publications is to drive the good and the pure from public life. Is it not so? Do not understand me to condemn just and discriminating criticism upon officials and their public acts. This is always a duty and tends to promote a salutary administration of public affairs. Such criticism merits approbation, but it is not of such that I am speaking. As a result of the teaching of these papers, do not the unthinking portion of the community rather believe evil than good of our public men; especially if they be of opposite political views. These papers inoculate their readers with the belief that the opposite political party can do nothing right, their own party can do nothing wrong. Under such teachings unfit men come to the surface, knowing that these papers have already smoothed their way, by stifling all honest criticism within the lines of their own party. When the people are thoroughly educated down to this standard there will be no reward for integrity and public virtue, no punishment for dishonesty and vice. Let the candidate be good or bad, the party organs join in the same hymn of praise. What is the result? The century ends, leaving behind a carnival of bad men, a rogue's holiday, a merry dance of savages around their victim, the Republic. For legitimate journalism there can be nothing but words of praise; but for that base born thing, which saps the foundation of morals, destroys the faith of the people, turns liberty into licentiousness, lifts not up the fallen but pulls down the erect, stalks majestically where

vice holds its sway, but cringes in honorable discussion, for thrift talks loudly at elections and starves in the intervals, contemptible in and of itself, but great as the organ of the ignoble army of strikers, be ready, gods, with all your thunderbolts, dash it to pieces.

II.—POLITICAL PARTIES.

Another cause of anxiety to the patriot is that blind love of and adherence to party, which is so prevalent. Perhaps the attempt to maintain the proposition that in countries where the popular will rules, political parties are not necessary, would meet with but indifferent success. It may be that they could be so organized and managed that they would not be inimical to the cause of liberty. But in that case two things would seem to be necessary.

First.—Their doctrines should be sound, unselfish and patriotic, and these doctrines should be adhered to in practice.

Second.—They should adhere to the principles of the Constitution, and imitate as closely as may be, the practices of the founders of the government.

But have not the parties drifted from these doctrines? Have they not in some instances run counter to the principles of the Constitution, and, yielding to that tendency of all human organizations, whether social, religious or political, centralized in themselves powers not authorized by the Constitution, and practices never contemplated by its framers. In illustration, consider the manner of electing the President of the United States, as laid down in the Constitution, as practised in the early days of the Republic, and as now managed. We assert with confidence that the founders of the government never intended that the office of President should be a prize for the contention of political parties. It was removed from the direct vote of the people, shielded from the passions and prejudices of party by the interposition of a barrier, known as electors. Through this medium popular views were to be refined and enlarged, popular prejudices rectified, passions cooled and the result shaped for the public good. It was designed that these electors should stand as a bulwark, beyond which the contending factions could not go. Between them and the presidential office no party passions should intrude, and they, without bias save for the good of the whole, without

prejudice save for the interests of the republic, should elect the President. The people in the several States were to choose the electors, and they cast their votes within the bounds of their own State. This dispersed situation quite effectually prevented combination, intrigue and corruption. But of what advantage is this provision if a party convention is permitted to usurp the duties of the electors, and subject itself to the evils from which they were shielded? Under such a regulation it might well be that the public voice would be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by the people themselves.

But what is the actual condition to which we are brought upon this subject by parties? The guards of the Constitution are practically thrown down, the electors are made mere puppets of party conventions, pledged to vote for the man designated. The exercise of an independent judgment by the elector, "would be treated as a political usurpation, dishonorable to the individual and a fraud upon his constituents." In the actual working of party machinery, the electors are absolutely useless, and many people cannot understand why such a scheme was provided, as it often obstructs their will by electing a President not of their choice.

We may safely assert that whatever is in the Constitution was designed for a good purpose, and if it has become useless, we may be sure that we have drifted from our true course. The fault is in ourselves, not in that instrument. The early practice in this matter shows what the first interpretation of this part of the Constitution was. Previous to 1804, there was no attempt to go beyond the wording of the Constitution. The people of the several States chose their electors and left them free to elect a President. Then the partisan representatives in Congress met in caucus and assumed to name a candidate. This innovation grew into a practice, which continued until May, 1832, when a convention was held in Baltimore. But at no time, from the organization of the government up to 1836, were the electors considered bound in the slightest degree by such nomination, whether made by Congressional caucus or party convention. Their duty was considered too responsible and the result too momentous to be interfered with. But the modest assumption of a caucus has grown until conventions bestride the country like Colossi, and the petty electors creep under their huge legs to find themselves dishonorable graves. It is this drifting away from constitutional guidance, slowly

and almost imperceptibly, but none the less fatally, which the wonderful foresight of Washington comprehended and led him to deplore the existence of parties in a republic. Look at the practical result. From the inauguration in 1789, to the first party convention in 1832, is forty-three years. From 1832 to 1876 is forty-four years. Previous to 1832 the electors in the constitutional way chose the President. Since 1832 party conventions, in a way not provided in the Constitution, have chosen the President. We have had an equal experience with each system and what shall we say? From the electors we had Washington, the two Adams', Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson. From party conventions we have had Van Buren, Harrison, Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln and Grant. Some of these proved themselves worthy of the seat of Washington, but consider the list under the old constitutional system, and the list under the new party system, and choose between them. I challenge your attention to this fact in justification of the old and in condemnation of the new. Every man elected before 1840, had, before his election, shown himself to be a statesman; with very few exceptions, the men chosen since have not, previous to their election, shown themselves to be statesmen. Availability is more looked for than capability.

Another danger to be apprehended from political parties, is the fact that a comparative few shape their destiny, establish their creed, map out their policy, and use them as instruments of rewards and punishments. The masses blindly adhere to the faith of the few, they run where directed, they dance when the leaders pipe. When they are bold enough to exercise their own judgment, and, of course, refuse to obey the commands of their selfish leaders, bold and unscrupulous intrigue seizes the first occasion to make them the instruments of their own subjugation. Perhaps I cannot point to a clearer or sadder illustration of the power of the few over the many than the recent rebellion. The people of the south were averse to secession. The leaders were determined upon that course. By their skill and intrigue they controlled the conventions and plunged the country into war. If these few were always pure, patriotic, self-denying men, ambitious only to serve their country in its highest and best interests, the objection to their rule could not be urged so forcibly. But they are not always such men. Sometimes, at least, they are selfish, corrupt, ambitious to serve themselves at the expense of their country. Should such men be permitted to shape the course of a party, and

through it the destinies of the country? Is it not time for the people to assert *their* rights and criticize the creed which these self-appointed leaders, through resolutions and platforms, make for the party? Is it not also a duty they owe to their own manhood, and to their country, to criticize the qualifications of candidates, and if they find them unfit, unreliable or dangerous, to vote against them. By what other course are we to preserve our institutions when placed in jeopardy? To nominate a man for office only because he has been a good party man, worked and schemed for its success, is an insult to men of intelligence. It marks a low appreciation of our duty to our country.

A few days ago a morning paper published a sketch of one of the then probable candidates for the Presidency. This was the estimate: "He has originated no good measure; he has supported no principle; he is identified with no reform. But he has never bolted a party nomination; never failed in obedience to a party caucus and has been found ready in each party crisis with a party speech. * * He has * * done much to make party government easier; he has done nothing to make the government better, more economical or more efficient."

What a catalogue of virtues to recommend their possessor to the suffrages of the American people! How does it read along side of the catechism? "Is he honest? Is he faithful? Is he capable?"

True, in the present party discipline, the unpardonable sin is to disclaim a nomination no matter how unfit, no matter by what means obtained. Against such domination it is manly to be men. You are as good and free as those demagogues, pretending to infallibility. Tell them that *you* make officials in this country. They depend on you, not you upon them. It is time for us to act upon this principle; love of party should always be subordinate to love of country; and if unfit men are nominated for office, such action is not binding. All parties profess to be, and should act as if they were organized to subserve the best interests of the country. If this great central fact is forgotten or neglected, teach them by salutary defeat, at the polls, that the only solid basis upon which parties can exist in a free country, without danger to its institutions, is an unselfish devotion to the greatest good of the whole people. If they will build up on any other foundation, then down with parties, and away with their creeds, if only by so doing the republic may live.

III.—CORRUPTION.

The saddest sign of the times is the corruption which prevails to such an extent in the land. No reference is made to the dishonesty so prevalent in business and stations of trust, but to political corruption.

As a fact, in our system, there is no hereditary right to rule, no place belonging to a family from generation to generation. All have an even start in the great race of life, and in this respect, at least, the declaration that all men are created free and equal, is true—free to carve out their own destiny without hindrance by the stumbling blocks of hereditary political rights. The government being one of order, it is not by revolution, but through the ballot box that administrations are changed, that political parties rise and fall. By the quiet ballot which should always be the unbought expression of an intelligent freeman's will, the great, the good, the learned, the virtuous, may be hurled from power, and the low, the corrupt, the ignorant and the vicious, exalted. Ill fares the land where the sovereign is ignorant, vicious or corrupt. In our government the people are sovereign, what then should the people be?

First.—They should have a clear knowledge of the rights and duties of free citizenship, and, therefore, should be educated. “Under a government where every man is a sovereign, the character and operations of that government cannot be too well or too universally understood. If danger threatens our civil institutions, it arises from a want of requisite information on the part of those who assume the duties and responsibilities of citizen electors, or actual participators in the administration of public affairs.” “This education should be such that the public liberties will be safe in their hands. Whether the State, as was done in Sparta, should take their education under its control, is not necessary now to consider. Perhaps it never will be necessary, in view of the impulse which the subject has received in this country. But this, at least, may be propounded with confidence, whatever that education may be, to what extent it may be carried, by whomsoever conducted, it should be in accord with our institutions. Each citizen should know that the small portion of his natural liberty surrendered by him to aid in forming the social compact, is insignificant when compared with the sum total sacrificed by others for his security. He should know something of the history of his country, else how

can he have a rational desire for its continuance? How can he be prepared to defend his civil rights, or perform his civil duties, unless he knows what those rights and duties are? This much, at least, should be taught. As the law of the land could not be administered except on the presumption that every man knows what is commanded and what is prohibited, so universal suffrage is based on the presumption that every citizen knows his rights and his duties, and casts his vote understandingly. (8)

Upon him devolve the duty and burden of maintaining this Republic. How can he perform that duty and why should he bear that burden, if he knows nothing of its history, of its struggle for freedom, of the influences which shaped its institutions; if beyond his immediate home, his country is to him an unknown land? He is a guardian of the laws, a maker of the laws, one of the sovereigns, holding in his hand, for good or evil, the destinies of the country. A State must be in danger where such powers repose in the hands of ignorance. In Sparta, if any man withheld his son from the care of the State, he forfeited his civil rights. He was denied participation in its councils and privileges. This was on the presumption that he was an enemy to his country, antagonistic to its interests, and, therefore, not to be trusted. Who will deny that every vote placed in the ballot box, in ignorance of its power, its import, its responsibilities, is a blind blow at our constitutional government and its perpetuity. Ignorance is an unsafe corner stone on which to rest the fabric of constitutional liberty. It is better fitted for the structures of oriental or mediæval despotism. It is the domain where the daring imposter rides into power, amid the hosannas of the multitude. It is in the field where the glozing demagogue reaps his richest harvest. We need not go outside of some of the States of this Union for examples, to show how ignorance of civil rights and duties is taken advantage of by the few, for the ruinous oppression of the people. What but the fear of outside influence prevents those few who hold the purse and the sword through the aid of ignorant and degraded voters from usurping the public liberties? Let the ignorance which there exists become general and how far off would the end be? Liberty and ignorance are essentially antagonistic. They cannot for any length of time dwell together.

(8) He who says education says government; to teach is to reign; the human brain is a sort of terrible wax that takes the stamp of good or of evil, according to whether an ideal touches it or a claw seizes it.—*Victor Hugo*.

Second.—They should know and appreciate the difference between liberty and license. As they are the fountain of sovereignty, so they should be they fountain of virtue. As they are the fountain of power, so they should be the fountain of patriotism. They should be a bulwark against corruption, not the originators of it. This is no time for honied words. It is a sad fact that the dawn of the second century reveals discord in our councils, and sloth in our markets. But sadder than these, sadder than war, pestilence or famine, is the patent fact that there is demoralization among certain classes of our people. The fountain sends out bitter water. With wealth have come luxury and vice ; with universal suffrage has come political corruption, with learning and refinement has come a drifting away from the simple, sublime faith of the fathers. Demagogues, that illegitimate outgrowth of popular governments, are everywhere abroad in the land, corrupting the minds of the people, and purchasing offices which their virtues and abilities never could obtain. Let this condition of affairs take deeper root, let it spread through the rural districts as it now exists in many of our cities, and we may fear the warning of Seneca: "When vices are grown so general as to be the manners of the people, no remedy can be expected." Is it necessary to be more specific? Then consider the machinery of politics as worked in the thickly settled portions of our country, especially in cities, where the corrupt and the vicious by combination hold the balance of power. Delegates buy the votes necessary to secure their appointment to some convention. When elected they demand a consideration for their votes, giving them to the man who will pay the highest price. In some instances the delegates sell the nominations in gross, for a specified sum. It could hardly be more disgraceful if they should sell the nominations at public auction to the highest bidder, as the Praetorian cohorts at one time sold the Empire. The business on the part of the delegates has in fact been reduced to a system ; a committee is now appointed to wait upon candidates, with full power to execute all necessary deeds of bargain and sale. But a nomination is not the end of this wretched business. From that moment on to and until after election the footsteps of the candidate are dogged, his place of business invaded, his house surrounded by these sovereign voters of the land, (whom some satirical rogue has called political strikers), demanding money for their votes. The luckless candidate might well use the language of Cato when mourning over the death of his son: "O happy day when I shall escape from this crowd, this heap of pollution."

Aristotle defined man as *politikon zoon*. Lord Monboddó in his acute and learned work on the origin of languages, maintains that the horses in Tartary, the beavers in America and the monkeys in Africa are *political animals*, and therefore Aristotle's definition of man fails to distinguish him from many of the quadrupeds. It seems not to have occurred to the astute lord, that the great Stagyrte possibly did not intend to distinguish them. The modern observer who studies the machinery of elections, will be puzzled to point out the difference, either in conduct or utility, between the political beings of Aristotle and the political monkeys of Monboddó.

We stand aghast at the misdeeds revealed in high places. But what is the corruption of a Belknap, but the outcropping of that which has imbedded itself in the substratum of our political society. The multitude are shouting, "Away with him, away with him;" but many of that multitude will levy blackmail upon every candidate at the next election. Their pockets will grow plethoric with the dollars they coin out of the life of the Republic. Who shall protect the fold when the shepherd is a wolf? Who shall preserve liberty when its custodians sell it for gold? Tell me, ye wretches, whosoever you are, who imitate your father, Esau, in that you sell your birth-right for a mess of pottage, where shall you stand if from the carcass of this Republic, a king shall rise to sit upon its ruins? You will be the first to cringe before his sceptre; you will be slaves of titled lords. It will be a poor consolation for you in that day, to reflect that you basely coined into money the vote given to you for the preservation of the liberties and institutions of your country. The chain that you are forging, though it be of gold, will clank none the less loudly, it will bind none the less securely; it will gall none the less sorely. Not the man who buys you will suffer from the change, but you, who

"Like the base Judean threw a pearl away,
Richer than all his tribe."

Were our liberties assailed by open and forcible usurpation, the people would rise as they did, when the guns of Fort Moultrie announced the attempt of 1861. There is no ground for apprehension that our liberties will ever be overthrown by open usurpation or forcible encroachment. That would be a daylight attack upon the strong side of our citadel. But there is an enemy that comes upon us as a thief in the night. Its work is done while we sleep. It is the

same that has been the eternal foe of liberty, the corruption of the people; the unbridled, unrestrained and licentious abuse of his rights and privileges by the citizen himself. Be not flattered or deceived by personal or temporary success. Turning our backs upon a danger that threatens, will not avert the day of our doom. It is written in the code of the Everlasting that, when the liberties of the people are abused and debauched, the State retrogrades.

There was an ancient law in Rome, by which everyone was authorized to lift up his sword against the man who should manifest any designs against the public liberties. If that law were in force here, and if buying and selling votes, and corrupting the ballot-box can be considered a design against our public liberties, how many of our citizens would take an early departure for their long home in warmer climes; over which fact how few mourners would go about the streets.

The man who will sell his vote is unfit to have a vote; but is fit to be a slave. Under no circumstances should he be entrusted with it, for he waits only for the opportunity to make merchandize of it, and thus contribute to the common ruin. The man who will buy a vote is unfit to be entrusted with public office, but is fit to be a tyrant. Under no circumstances should he be trusted, for he will usurp power when it is no longer his interest to buy it. One moderately sure way to stop investments in this sort of merchandise is, for all honest men, without regard to party, to vote against the man who is so base as to invest one dollar to purchase his nomination or election. A few rebukes, in the shape of defeat and consequent loss of money invested, would have a tendency to make him a wiser if not a better man.

Two of the resolutions adopted by a recent convention in Michigan, have the true ring upon this subject:

"3d. We repudiate the idea that candidates have the right to manipulate conventions and thrust themselves into nomination."

"4th. That the use of money to influence elections is demoralizing to the people, and any candidate who will seek, by the use of money, to influence nominations or elections is unworthy of support."

How strangely these two resolutions would sound in the average convention in Hudson County. How the politicians would smile, a ghastly smile, to hear them read. The mover would be looked upon as an estray from some neighboring lunatic asylum, or some old fossil of another age, who had forgotten to die at the proper time.

To day, in the City of Philadelphia, people from all civilized na-

tions are gathered to view the products of various countries, and especially to see those which our young Republic can exhibit. The progress we have made in every branch of productive industry, in art, in science, in invention, in every department where human power and skill have achieved their triumphs, and which reflect honor upon civilization, is no doubt amazing. We have a just pride in such a grand exhibition. But the measure of a nation's true progress and greatness is not alone in her armies and navies, but also in the severer virtues, truth, honor, integrity, industry and patriotism. These make the individual a true man, fearing God, respecting himself, doing wrong to none, acting justly to all. The production which I have held up for your condemnation will not be on exhibition there. It is not evidence of *improvement*. It marks *our decay*, and, write it down, as certain as God is true, if continued will bring ruin upon the country. We must go back nearer to the stern virtues of the fathers if our liberties are to be secure. Voters must use their privileges for the good of the country, not for self. Offices must be filled by those whom the people call upon because of their merits, not by those who spend money to corrupt delegates and voters.

The fact that popular governments have thus far in history been short-lived, should make us the more vigilant. Once dead, dead forever. "When, in what age, in what clime have the ruins of constitutional governments renewed their youth and regained their lost estate? By whose grip has the corpse of a Republic ever been resurrected? The merciful Master who walked upon the waters, and bade the winds be still, left no ordained apostles with power to wrench apart the jaws of national death and release the victims of despotism. Wherever in the wide domain of human conduct, a people once possessed of liberty, with all power in their own hands, have surrendered these great gifts, * * * they have never afterward proved themselves worthy to regain their forfeited treasure."

Self examination is more profitable than self laudation. If we find symptoms of the same causes which worked the dissolution of the old Republics, we ought to know that the time for reformation or Caesar has come. The dissolution of republican Rome kept pace with a growing tendency, to regard the state as property to be appropriated to individual aggrandizement. Political power and individual wealth were acquired by just such rings as are constantly forming in this country. Virtue having become impotent and vice holding the bal-

ance of power, unprincipled men with their hired retainers were the tools of either party until they became the masters of both. Parties abandoned principle for policy, and catered to the rogues they ought to have hung. Duties were left unperformed and offices were bartered for gold. Good men were thrown aside and bad men ruled. The people banished Cicero from the Rome he had saved, at the dictation and for the money of a wretch like Clodius.

I have already detained you too long, but suffer me a few more words. Though there are many things that exist which we consider evils, perhaps, they are inseparable from human nature and human government. Our philosophy will enable us to endure conditions which we did not bring about, and may not be able to change. Though we may not have all things to our liking, though sometimes doubt and gloom settle upon our hearts, it is not a part of our duty to yield to despair. In spite of all, we are permitted to hope for the perpetuity of our free institutions.

One century gone ! Behind us in our national march it lies. Over the scars which it bears let us spread the mantle that covers all. From it let us draw the rich lessons which only the wise draw from experience. From it, its realizations and disappointments, we turn to the future. It is all before us, and providence is our guide.

One of the early acts of Joshua after the wandering tribes had entered the promised land, was to execute one of the peculiar commands of his predecessor. That command was, when they should be brought into the land, they should put the curse upon Mount Ebal, and the blessing upon Mount Gerizim. This was faithfully carried out. In the presence of all Israel, with the ark of the covenant in the midst, Joshua read all the words of the law, the blessings and the cursings, and all the people said, Amen.

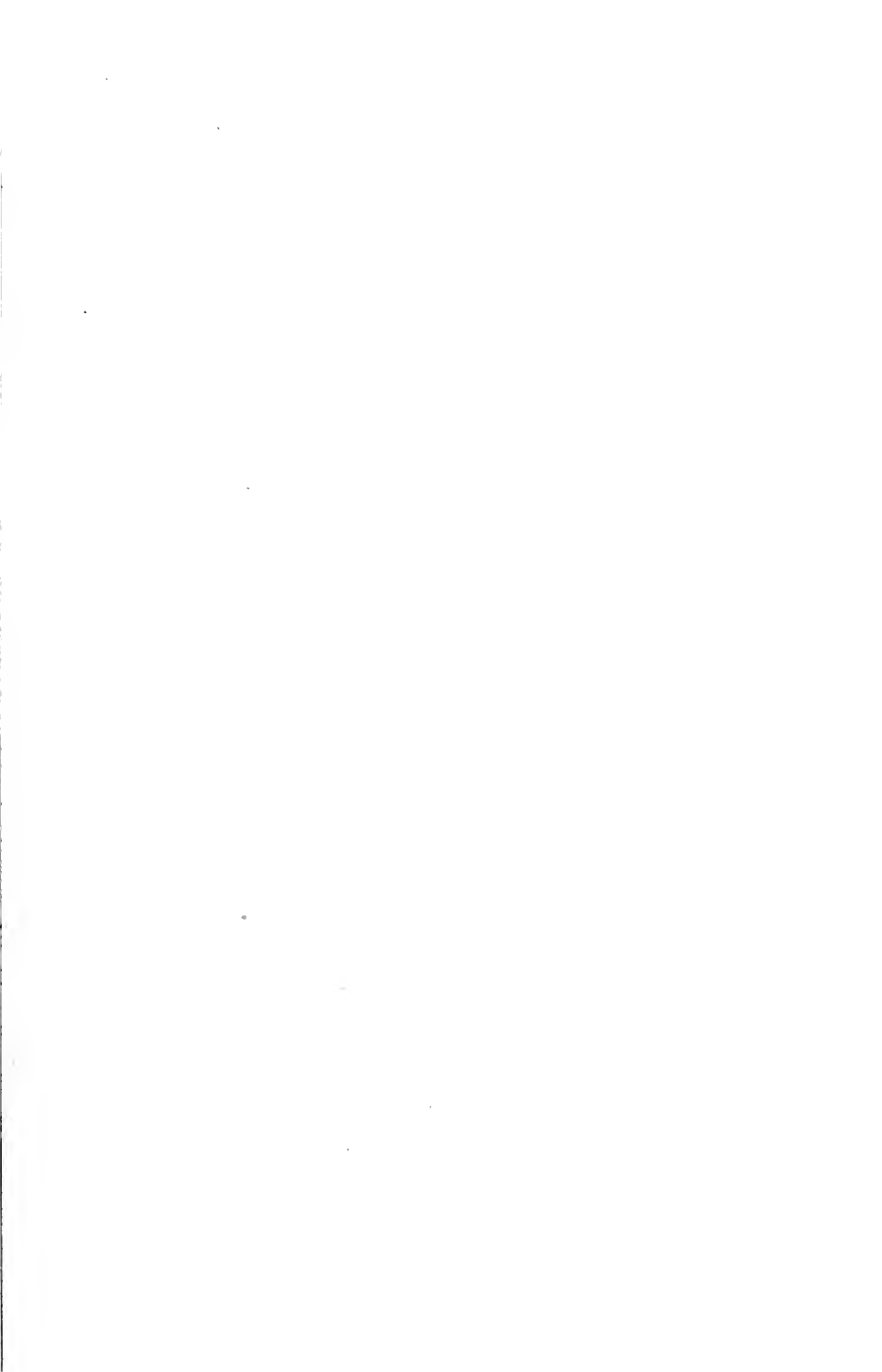
Whatever militates against our prosperity, the perpetuity of our government and the sacredness of our Constitution, is our Mount Ebal. Upon it rest the curses of freemen, and let all the people say, Amen. But the Constitution, the government as formed by our fathers, its administration as by them conducted ; everything that builds up, solidifies and perpetuates the blessings of liberty to this great land, is our Mount Gerizim. Upon them rest the blessings of freemen, and let all the people say, Amen.

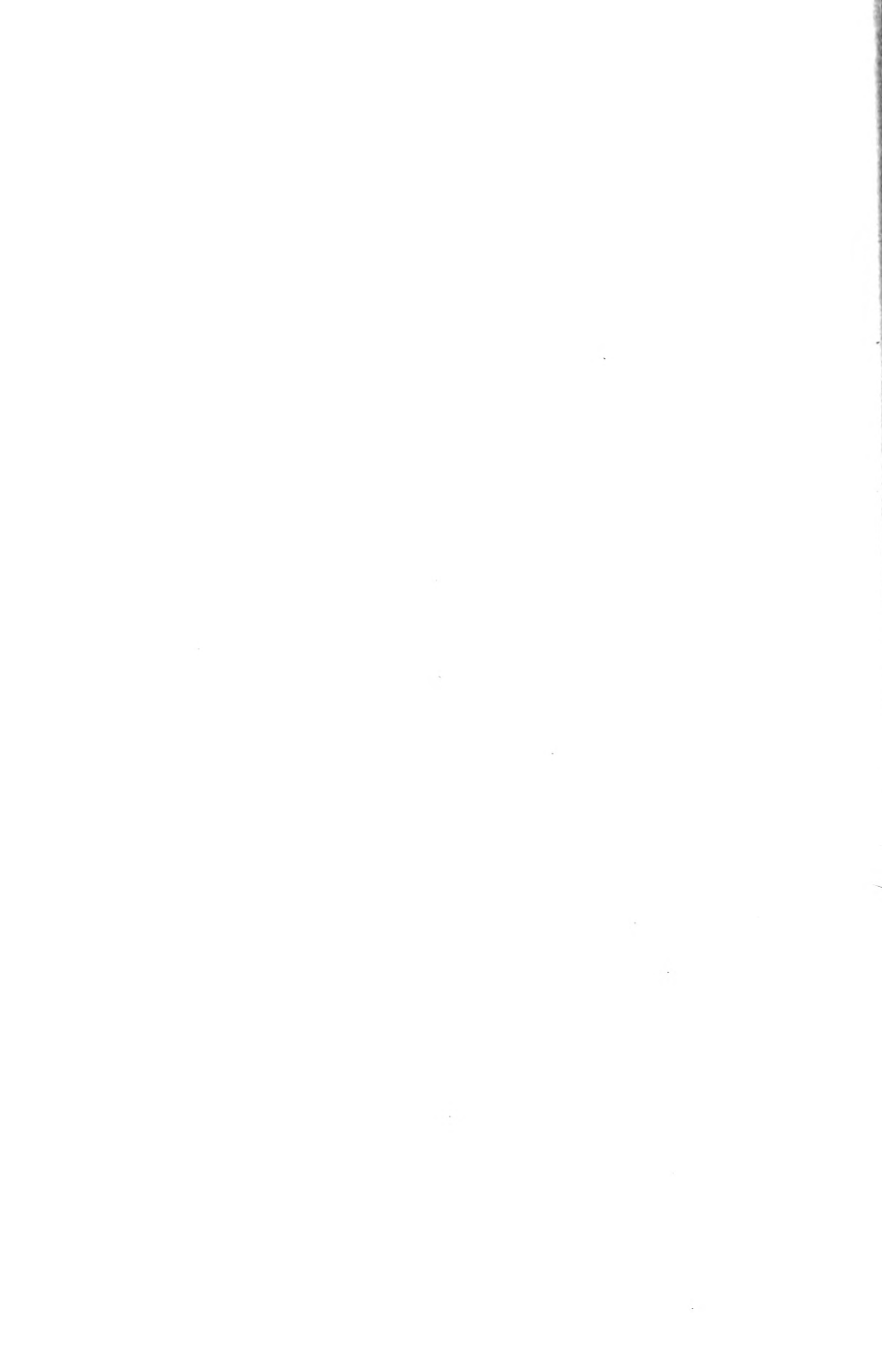
There is no reason to expect that my voice will be heard outside of this room, or that the busy world of politics and toil will be in-

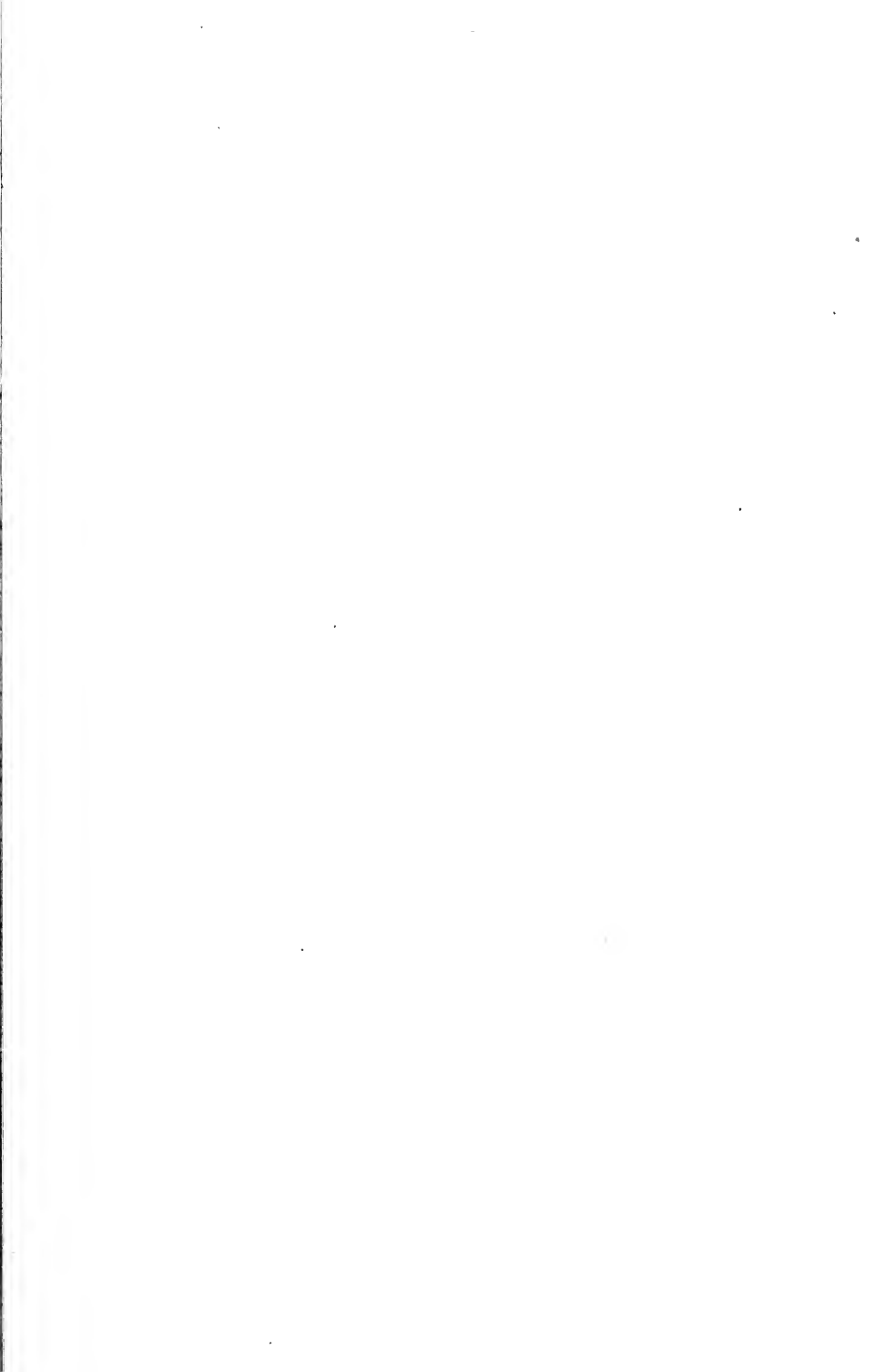
fluenced by my opinions. But could that voice be heard and were those opinions worthy of consideration, I would say, virtue and intelligence being the only foundation on which a Republic can securely rest, strengthen the one, build up the other. Party success is not the prime good to the country, nor even to the party itself. As Americans, subordinate everything to the common weal. Disseminate the important truth that the Republic must be first, party and all other temporal good last. If parties must exist, and must contend for the administration of the government, let their love of country stand out upon their banners and in their practices, as boldly and unmistakably as it did in the protestation of the captive Jews: "If I forget thee, O, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Let those who desire office and those (perhaps better men) whom the people wish to accept office, resolve that they will not pay one dollar to secure a nomination, nor one dollar to secure an election. Let the system of corruption become odious, for laws are of no avail. Let us return to the purer and better practices of the purer and better days of the Republic. We will then have reason to indulge brighter hopes for its continuance. We will then have shown a disposition to do our part toward its preservation and placed ourselves in an attitude where we may reasonably expect a favorable answer to the prayer, in which, as we enter the untrodden path of the coming century, I am sure we can all unite:

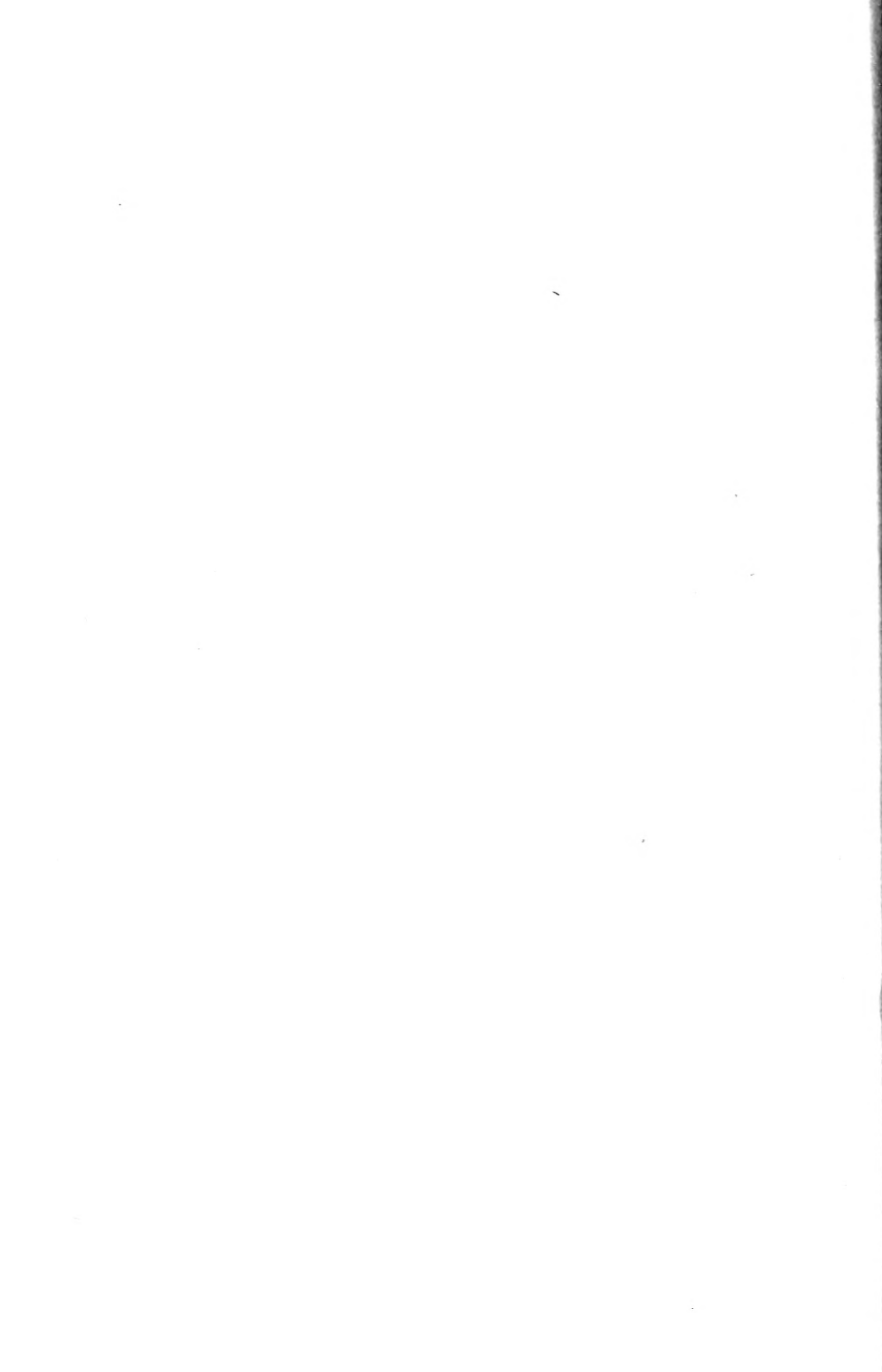
THE LORD, OUR GOD, BE WITH US AS HE WAS WITH OUR FATHERS:
LET HIM NOT LEAVE US NOR FORSAKE US !

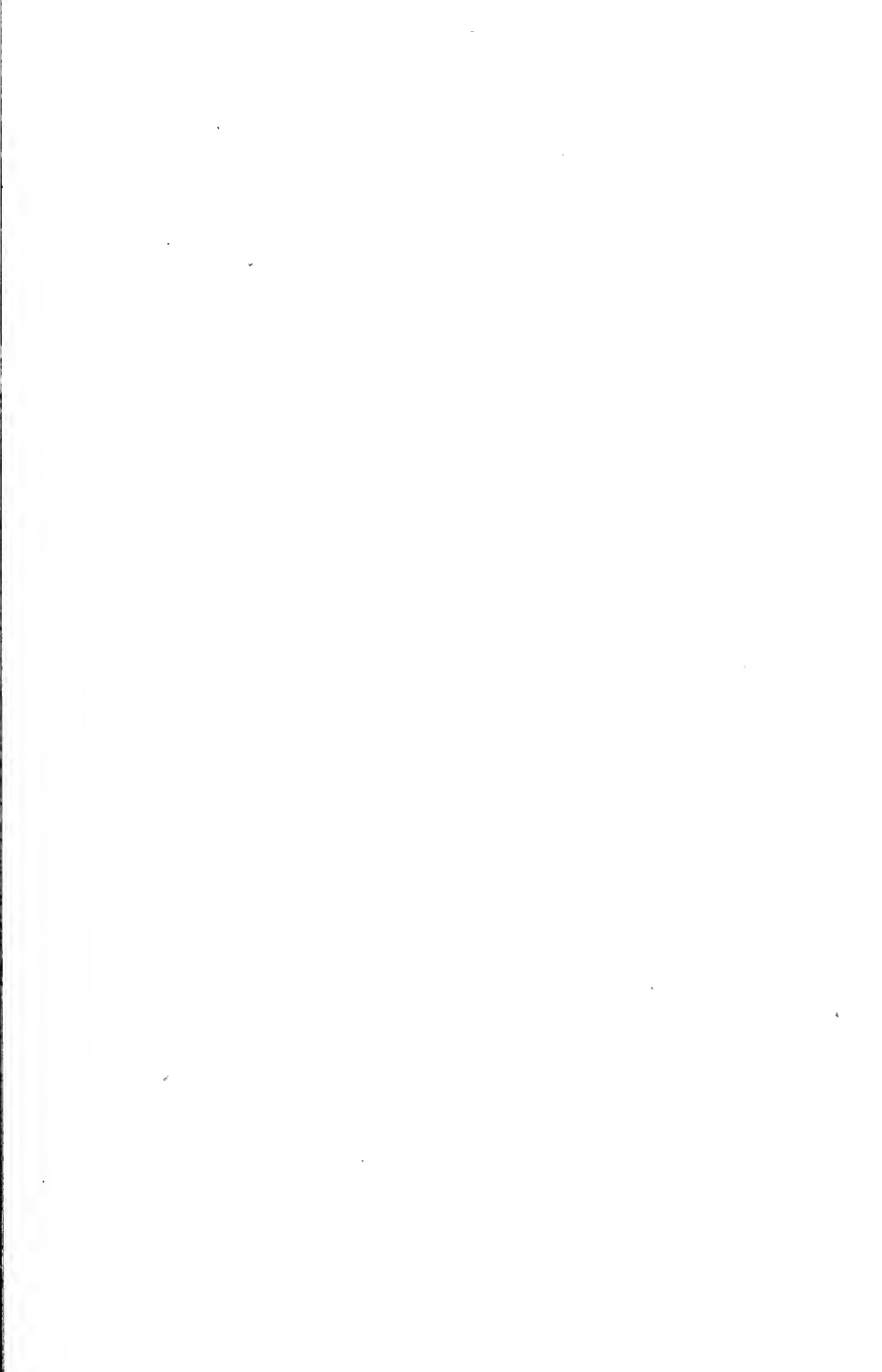


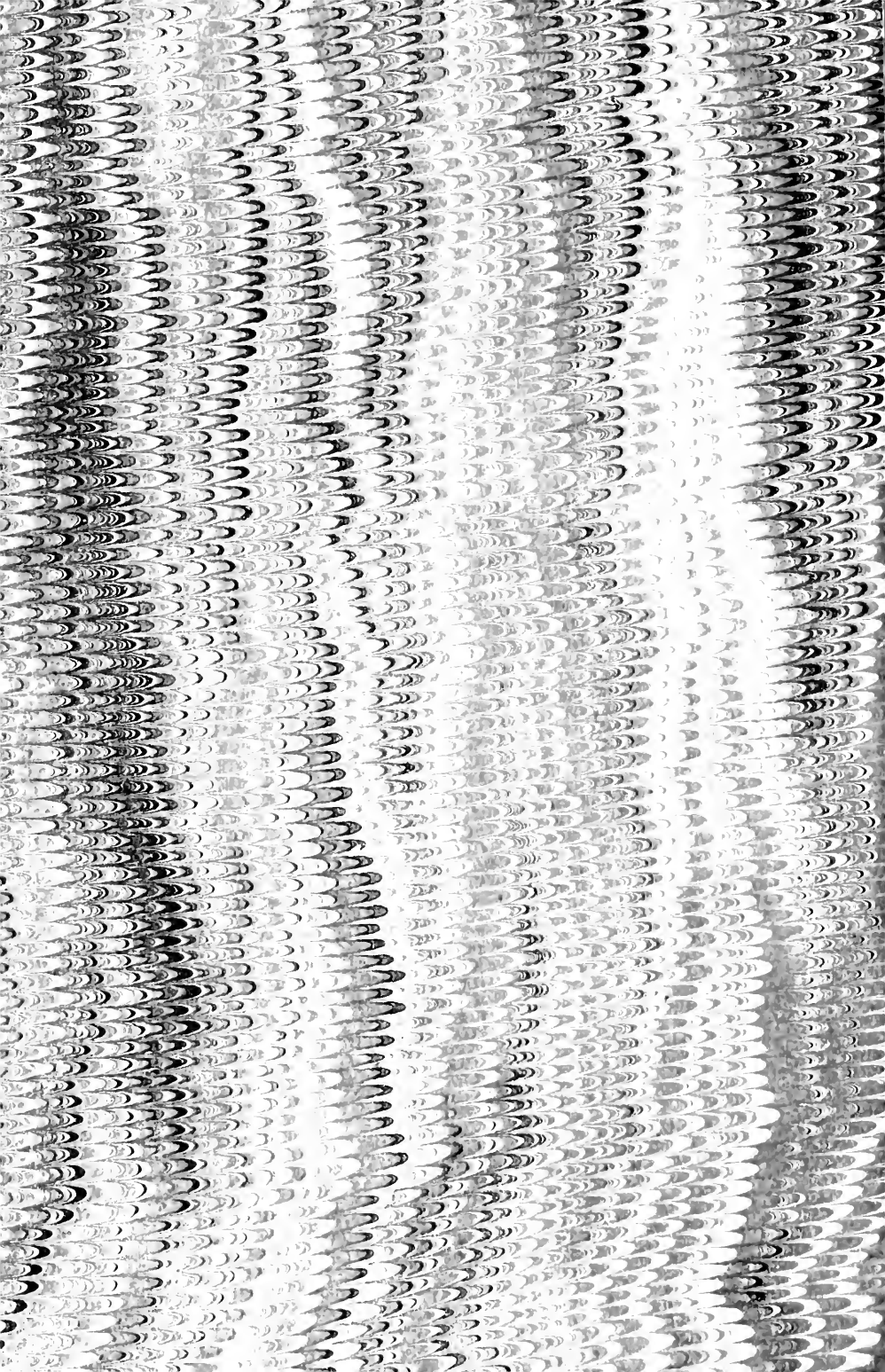


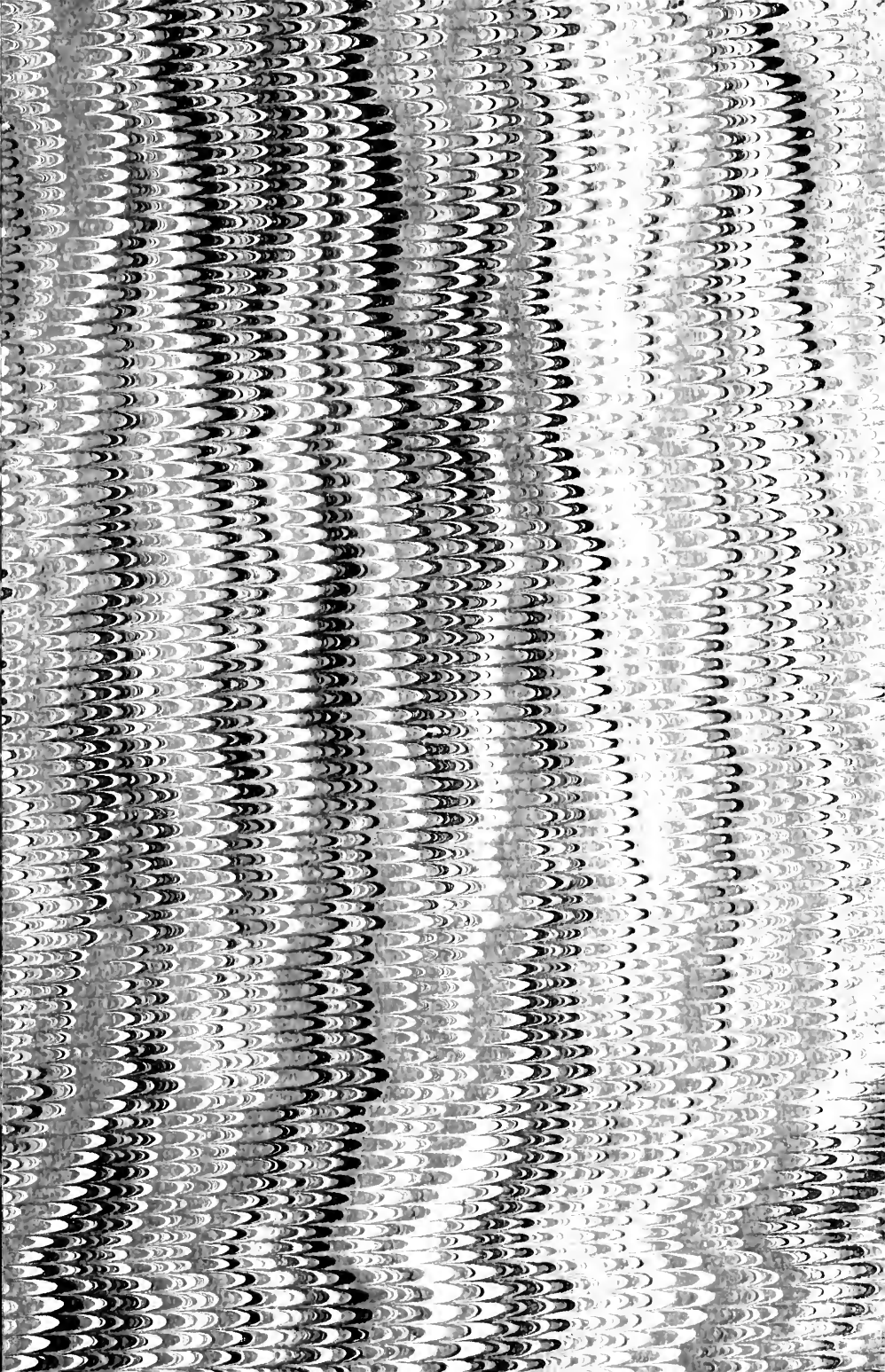












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